1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17



342 [513]

excavated. Paper bark is usually placed in the hole and is also used as a covering during cold nights.

With the exception of the lean-to variety of Types 4 and 5, all of the above huts are constructed for the rainy season. Because of the thicknesses of paper bark, they keep completely dry, even in the heavy tropical rains. The natives never build in advance in preparation for the rainy period. Nothing is done when the clouds first appear, even though it is realized that the rain may be upon them in a few hours. When it is decided that the rain will start within the next half hour or hour, the natives watch the tide carefully. If the tide is going out it pulls the clouds out to sea; but as soon as the tide changes they start building, and usually the rain is upon them before construction is finished. Instead of being displeased at being thoroughly soaked, there is usually much merriment and they seem to enjoy the great confusion and noise. Each house usually includes but one family. [592] The wives of a polygamous household always live under one roof.

A dry-season camp is largely a series of circles, each defined by an outline of strips of paper bark and by a border of sand that has been heaped up from excavating shallow holes for the occupants who compose a family group. No one ever walks over or through another's camp circle. 361

The people along the Goyder River and the farther interior always take to the high ground as soon as the wet season starts, and when the rains appear in earnest build long communal houses out of the arched bark of the eucalyptus. This communal house is well covered with paper bark, sand, and bushes to keep out the rain, and it is also excavated in the interior and made very low so that the wind will not be able to blow through it. It has two entrances, and fires are put at each end and sometimes in the interior. Frequently this house has two ridgepoles on forked sticks, and the bark is bent over them in the same manner as for Type 4. 342 361

*Type 6: The Pile House.*—In the Goyder and Glyde River district a special type of "pile" house with gabled superstructure and known as a "mosquito house" is constructed. No other people intensively studied by the author had this form. 342 [571]

Four forked poles about eight feet high are put in the ground. Ridge poles placed in the forks connect the uprights and form a rectangle.

Cross-pieces connect the ridgepoles and make a floor. On top of these grass is put, and then a final covering of heavy paper bark.

Four uprights half again as high as the first are then set up on the corners of the platform. At the center of each end of the floor are placed two more forked uprights about one-third again as high as the last four; a ridgepole connecting these last two uprights forms the peak of the gable. Two more ridgepoles also connect the pairs of poles on each side of the house. Rafters are then put down from the highest center ridgepole to the

137 zones, *rakai*, the corms of the Tall Spike Rush (*Heleocharis*
262 *sphacelata*), to which reference has already been made,
form the staple food. At the same time, communal fishing
226 drives—almost the only large scale hunting activity in which
476 men and women work together—are organised. Most other
communal enterprises, except those of a ceremonial nature,
are carried out by groups of men or of women working
[687] independently. In most cases the actual procedure follows
[554] so closely a traditional pattern that little actual leadership
[602] is required and this is generally accepted as the responsibility of the most senior and experienced of the older men who stand in the correct kinship status to the group in whose territory the hunting "drive" is carried out. Because these methods are traditional and are therefore regarded as a recapitulation of a pattern laid down by the ancestral culture heroes, the leadership is nominal and generally unobtrusive.

592 Each family—the group consisting of a man and his wife or wives and their young children—lives as a separate unit within the camp. It generally makes its own hut, shelter or breakwind according to the season, but the essential thing is that its life is centred around its own fireside, and that each family group cooks its own food, and lives as an independent and self-contained group within the horde. As a rule only one regular meal is eaten in camp. This is at night after the people have returned from the day's hunting.

591 There is no single women's camp, and up to the time of
593 marriage a girl remains with her parents and shares with
883 her mother the work of gathering vegetable food, and of food preparation, the making of bark houses and the getting of wood and water. But in the case of a boy, after commencement of his first initiation rites, at about the age of puberty, he leaves the fireside of his parents and goes to live in the single men's camp.

616 "*Dual division*" or "*dual organisation*", cuts right through the social organisation of Arnhem Land (as in many other parts of Australia and elsewhere), dividing it into two halves or "moieties", so that half the clans, with their totems, fall into one moiety and half into the other moiety.

In Arnhem Land the moieties are called *dua* and *yiritja*, but they are not always actually named and the *dual division* may be present and may function without the moieties bearing names. Often the natives believe that they can detect physical differences between the members of the two moieties. Sometimes they assert that the people of one moiety have curly hair and those of the other straight, or that there are differences in eye or skin colour. There is often a marked "*opposition*" between moieties to which formal expression is given on ceremonial occasions. This formal or "organised" opposition finds expression, and is often stressed, in the mythology, and especially in totemism, the whole of the totemic organisation being divided between the two moieties.

784 *Euphoria*. A state of social well-being brought about by the correct
783 observance of ritual behaviour, especially of tabus, in contrast
673 with *disphoria*, a "ritual state of sin" or "bad luck" due to the breaking of tabus. Generally a formal rite of expiation or "purification" of a type laid down by tradition, must be carried out by the individual or by the group to restore a state of *euphoria*.

582 *Exogamy* is simply the rule of "marrying out" as opposed to *endogamy*—marriage within the group. In Arnhem Land society the family, clan and moiety are all strictly exogamous and each of these groups is comprised of people with whom marriage is not only not permitted, but to whom, under the kinship system, the pattern of behaviour is incompatible with that towards a wife or husband.

592 *Family*. This is the fundamental unit in social life. In Australia it
595 is the group consisting of a man and his wife or wives, (for these people are *polygynous*), with their young children, own or adopted. Each family lives as a separate, and to a large extent independent, unit, within the camp of the horde. It makes its own fire around which its domestic life is centred and at which it prepares its own food. Around the fireside the food is eaten and here the family sleeps and lives its own separate life.

621 *Horde*, is the name given to the group which at any time actually *occupies* a clan territory. It is the important functional group and is generally the war-making and law-making group and is an independent social and political unity, but its membership may change, and it lacks the permanence and stability of the clan, the group which a man enters by birth alone.